

NATO Enlargement: Strategic Impact on Poland's Security

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Subject Area National Military Strategy

Preface

The purpose of this paper is to assess the question, "Does NATO enlargement meet Poland's security needs?" The paper will convince the reader that further enlargement of the Treaty has strategic importance for Poland's national security. I chose to write on this subject because, as a Polish Officer, I have experienced first-hand the security challenges facing Poland, first as a Soviet Bloc country, and now as an independent nation and NATO member.

I would like to thank Dr. Kamal Beyoghlou and LtCol James Conklin of the United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College, without whose guidance and perspective this paper would never have been completed.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Title: NATO Enlargement: Strategic Impact on Poland's Security

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Thesis: Considering Poland's history and threats to its national security, Poland cannot guarantee its security alone. Polish national security depends upon ties to existing security organizations and other powerful nation-states. Because of its geo-strategic position and the nation's security structure, Poland should be part of a security structure that assures equilibrium with its potential threats. The same tenet plays an important role in the context of enlargement. After 1989, Poland was searching for security within NATO against Russian domination and German resurgence. Now, through the enlargement of NATO, Poland seeks a network of countries that are capable of facing new security challenges such as terrorism, proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, and at the same time, creating a stable, democratic and secure Europe.

Discussion: Throughout its history, Poland's security has been threatened by hostility of two powerful neighbors, Russia and Germany, and by its inability to forge alliances with other nations. Shortsighted policy and lack of understanding concerning regional alliances has affected Poland significantly four times in its history, ending in lost sovereignty and independence. The collapse of the Soviet Union gave Poland new independence and a chance to build its own security environment. Aimed at anchoring itself in reliable western security structures, Poland started to build good relations with its neighbors. By joining NATO in 1999, Poland achieved its basic security goals, but has not solved all of its security concerns. Knowing that security is not static, Poland must answer several questions: Is NATO membership sufficient for Poland's security considering its traditional and contemporary security concerns? If not, will NATO enlargement meet Poland's security needs?

Conclusion: The enlargement of NATO has strategic importance for Poland's future security. It will not only change Poland's situation as a "buffer country" but it also prevent a repetition of its tragic history. An enlarged and stronger NATO with the military potential of new members will be able to deal with the new challenges and threats of the 21st century and represent the base of building of stability and security.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history, Poland has been faced with a security problem emanating from its two powerful neighbors, Russia and Germany. Although Poland's geopolitical position and security environment has evolved since World War I, its security policy has always been aimed at finding the best way to confront recurring threats to its sovereignty and its territorial integrity.

Under Soviet Russia rule from 1945 to 1989, Poland was a relatively safe state, though it had almost no influence on its security policy and paid a hefty price for maintaining cordial relations with the Soviet Union. Poland's willingness and ability to change were skillfully limited by a Soviet policy aimed at fueling fears of German resurgence and portraying the West as the enemy.

In 1989, Poland regained its independence and for the first time since 1945, felt optimistic about the future. At the same time, Poland was apprehensive about its ability to reduce the threats to its national security interests. Poland's primary concern was that it found itself in a "gray zone" without any allies, fearful of both German resurgence and Russian domination. Other potential security threats consisted of nationalism and the instability of newly independent neighbor states in Eastern and Central Europe, minority problems, and weak military, political (including security) and economy systems.

Despite the chaos of the early 1990s, "Solidarity," the Polish Pro-Western democratic labor organization that challenged the communist party clearly understood the opportunities as well as threats facing Poland. Not surprisingly, its program aimed at solving the most vital problems, namely supporting unification, and improving relations with Germany and its

neighbors. Additionally, a key issue was Poland's declaration of friendship to all of its neighbors and assurances that it had no interest in territorial expansion. In short, the new Poland was to be a far cry from aggressive pre-WW II Poland and its nationalistic policy toward its neighbors.

Having determined that allying itself with the West was the best course, Poland accelerated its efforts to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).¹ Membership in NATO seemed to be the best possible option to meet Poland's regional security challenges. After accepting the Partnership for Peace Program (PFP), regional cooperation within Visegrad Group and internal military, political and economic reforms improved Poland's standing as a free nation and opened doors to more secure world.^{2, 3} In March 1999, Poland became a member of NATO, beginning its next stage in the dynamic process of assuring its security.

This essay will assess the challenges facing an independent Poland in post-Cold War Europe, and show that its membership in NATO will help Poland enhance its national security interests and ultimately lead to regional stability and security. It will argue that, without NATO membership, Poland's future is likely to remain at best precarious and unstable.

¹ For more information see Appendix A, 36.

² For more information see Appendix B, 38.

³ For more information see Appendix C, 39.

CHAPTER 2

POLAND DURING THE COLD WAR

Poland's security after WWII was determined by the military and political realities following the outcome of the war. From the Yalta Agreement in February 1945 to the final disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991, Poland's security was an internal Soviet Union affair. As a vassal state, Poland was deprived opportunities offered by sovereignty and the ability to form her own national foreign and security policy. Polish security was governed by the following criteria:

- "First, the United Nation's system of sovereign and independent nation-states was not applied to countries like Poland, since like other Eastern and Central European nations, Poland was a part of the Iron Curtain and was subjected to the total domination of the Soviet Union, which held veto power within the UN Security Council;
- Second, the delicate system of East-West Strategic balance, the United States and NATO on one hand and the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact on the other, made Poland a hostage, and its Eastern bloc affiliation ensured the stability of the whole configuration. Any attempt to change the Yalta-Potsdam territorial-political order would pose the threat of a conflict between the East and the West;
- Third, the national level centered on the establishment of a Polish-German frontier, along the Oder-Nessie line. In the face of the ambiguous attitude represented by the western powers, it consigned Poland to "an eternal alliance" with the Soviet Union, her guarantor of security and territorial integrity."⁴

The Soviet bloc, created after the Second World War, formed the security system within which Poland functioned for the next four decades. Despite symptoms of pending failure, the system survived to the end of the 1980s without giving countries like Poland any chance to influence its policy or shape its security. The bloc was kept together by a series of bilateral and multilateral bonds at the political, military, economic and ideological levels. From 1954,

⁴ Roman Kuzniar. Polska Polityka Bezpieczeństwa 1989 - 2000 (Warszawa: Scholar Publishing House, 2002), 20. (in Polish)

this coherence was preserved by cooperation between communist parties. In the political-military sphere, importance was attached to the bilateral alliance pact with the Soviet Union.

It was often expressed that:

“The treaty had been signed “in the name of Poland” in April 1945 (prior to the establishment of a Polish government in accordance with the Yalta resolution) by the Chairman of the Polish National Council, who had been nominated by Moscow without any legal rights to act as a signatory.”⁵

The Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Cooperation was an alliance directed predominantly against West Germany, viewed as the main enemy of the Eastern Bloc. In addition, each member-state of the bloc signed alliance pacts with other members of the “community.”

Significant importance was attached within this context to specific principles of international relations observed by the governments of the communist states in their mutual relations. They included the principles of socialist internationalism and “fraternal” assistance, which in practice signified the subjugation of state interests to “world communism” or the “world revolutionary movement,” and thus to the interests of the Soviet Union. Those specific principles were supreme in relations concerning international counterparts, as expressed in the limited sovereignty doctrine. Simply put, cohesion of the bloc and its detachment from the West were supposed to be favored by the acceptance of a centralized economic development model and dependence upon exchange within the bloc. This limited the ability of member states to maneuver and engendered economic and technological backwardness.

It is not surprising that the situation did not permit the formation and pursuit of an independent Polish national security policy. It was known that:

“It could not come into being due to the crushing asymmetry of forces: dominating and totalitarian power recognized only the vassal and the satellite character of the

⁵ Kuzniar, 21.

allies. The stand represented by the government of the People's Republic of Poland with regard to security was secondary since it was subjugated first to the political-strategic interests of the Soviet Union, and second to the global interests of the communist camp.”⁶

The “German Question,” applying to Poland’s western border, reinforced Poland’s dependence on the Soviet Union.⁷ An extreme example of the relations between the Soviet Union and the bloc states was the armed interventions in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968), which were accompanied by formulation of a doctrine concerning lack of sovereignty in communist states. Poland also faced the constant threat of Soviet invasion looming during the “Solidarity” revolution, particularly in December 1980 and March 1981. The role of satellite states within the domain of security consisted of supporting the military potential of the bloc, adding their economic, demographic and territorial potential to that of the Soviet Union. They backed the latter’s policies and countless “peace initiatives” on the international scene, and participated in armed initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty. In return, the Soviet Union guaranteed protection against “American imperialism” and “German revisionism.” This was also a period of evolution in mutual relations between communist states and in political life as a whole. Loosening of Moscow’s control over her allies took place for the first time after 1956, which included the withdrawal of Soviet military advisers. Nonetheless, at the strategic level, the essence of those relations in the realm of national security remained unaltered.

It was thought that:

“Paradoxically, in comparison with previous historical periods, neither the territorial integrity of the People’s Republic of Poland, a de facto non-sovereign state deprived of its own security policy, nor its validity as a formal subject of international relations was threatened.”⁸

⁶ Kuzniar, 21.

⁷ The so-called “German Question” refers to increased Polish dependence on Soviet military force as a hedge against German territorial ambitions.

⁸ Kuzniar, 22.

Poland remained a relatively active state, both in bilateral relations and in multilateral organizations (especially within the United Nation system). It may be said that during this period, Poland was in a certain sense, secure. Naturally, the price that Poland was compelled to pay for this status was enormous.

A recollection of this paradox accentuates once again that there are no simple, unambiguous relations between sovereignty, security, economic development or the respect for a nation's right to self-determination. Hence, within the context of national security, the idea of dependence or independence is incapable of explaining everything. It is more important to interpret the contents of national security and its [relationship](#) to other national interests in a specific and actual situation. Poland had no impact upon the international security system, and was a hostage to the international balance of hegemonic power, namely that of the Soviet Union. Poland's approach to European security cannot be ignored in the realm of disarmament, however, in which Poland displayed an assertive role concerning German rearmament as well as Central European issues. While this approach became a "specialty" of Polish policy, the Soviets reluctantly acquiesced, but continued to limit Poland's ability to conduct foreign policy independently of the Warsaw Pact.

The first major undertaking displaying Polish assertiveness was the "Rapacki Plan." In the midst of the nuclear superpower race, however, Moscow rejected the "inevitability of war against imperialism," initiation of a dialogue between Moscow and Western powers, remilitarization of the German Federal Republic and its inclusion into NATO, disclosure of nuclear ambitions by Bonn and the creation of the Warsaw Treaty. In October 1957, in the light of these events, Poland presented an initiative to the United Nations General Assembly concerning the creation of a non-nuclear zone in Central Europe, which would encompass

Poland and both German states. A Polish government memorandum described a potential zone totally free of nuclear weapons and the facilities necessary for their servicing, production and storage, and guarantees for respect of the zone's status by the nuclear states. The Soviet Union's reaction was reluctant, not only because the agreement would signify a loss of Soviet control over Poland, but also because of the consequences that might follow the withdrawal of nuclear weapon from Poland's territory.

The plan expressed the post-1956 Polish move toward demonstrating independence in foreign policy, and the protection of its own national interests. To a certain degree, the plan reflected the wish to participate in the emerging East-West dialogue, specifically with Germany. If Polish policy succeeded, it would have brought Poland closer to the West. This would have set a dangerous precedent at least within the Warsaw Pact countries. The plan did not win the acceptance of NATO (including Germany) or the nuclear powers, but its legacy contains the seeds of nuclear disarmament and partial demilitarization of Europe.

The second project, the so-called "Jaruzelski Plan"⁹ presented by the Polish government in the spring of 1989, concerned Central Europe, Poland, and security on the boundary between Soviet Bloc and European NATO states. The plan, which envisioned arms reductions and an increased trust between border states in Central Europe, was compiled of four elements, each of which served as the basis for separate negotiations. The first element specifically addressed nuclear weapons reductions in border states. The second closely-related element focused on parallel conventional weapons reductions. The third element proposed cooperation between border states to make their military doctrines purely defensive in nature. The fourth element entailed the reinforcement of applied measures for building mutual trust and confidence. Negotiations were also designed to enable Polish diplomats to resume an active role in talks

⁹ Named for Polish President and primary plan promoter, Wojciech Jaruzelski

and debates concerning European security. From a territorial viewpoint, the plan encompassed Central Europe – Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany, Denmark and the Benelux countries, since outbreak of major regional conflict would likely have made Central Europe the main battleground. From the Polish perspective, the purpose of the plan was to diminish the threat to Poland's territory, but unfortunately;

“The plan met with a certain degree of interest, but also with critical opinion especially from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States.”¹⁰

Chances for the plan's success were subsequently undermined by political changes inside Poland and by events in the region from 1989 that brought about the demise of the Warsaw Pact and opened a new chapter in the history of Poland.

¹⁰ Kuzniar, 24.

CHAPTER 3

AN INDEPENDENT POLAND AND ITS SECURITY DILEMMA

1989 heralded the end of Soviet domination over Poland, and raised hopes of economic, social and security progress. For a number of other states in the region, the demise of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a dichotomy between an affluent, secure West on one hand, and an unstable, impoverished East on the other marked a return to life in a “gray zone.” Poland, like other newly independent states in Central and Eastern Europe found itself caught in a security vacuum, outside all existing security structures in Europe. This radically new situation accelerated the search for security solutions, forcing post-communist states to examine their ability to sustain their newly-found independence. As the largest and historically the most vulnerable among those states, Poland sought to define its security in a way that would solve its fears of further dismemberment. For the average Pole, the new situation recalled disturbing memories of being awkwardly sandwiched between two powerful states, Germany and Russia. Many Polish politicians described the situation as follows:

“The search for such an identity interfered with the Poles’ fear of finding themselves under a bridge between Russia and Germany, a desire not to wait begging at the door of Europe.”¹¹

Since its original creation, Poland had disappeared from the map of Europe four times as Germany and Russia divided its territory between them. It was evident that the two remained great regional powers whose potential Poland could never hope to match due to their economic and military potential, and their large populations. The Poles did not want history to repeat itself, and with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the key challenge to Poland’s security policy was balancing its historical legacy of vulnerabilities with good neighborly relations.

¹¹ Regina Cowen Karp. Central and Eastern Europe the Challenge of Transition. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 70.

Underground “Solidarity” recognized that Poland was pivotal to stability in a rapidly changing Central European environment, and hence, essential to European security as a whole. This realization compelled foreign and defense policy advisors to cooperate closely with Europe, but particularly with their Hungarian, Czech, and Slovak counterparts to prevent recurrence of Poland’s entrapment and isolation. Although one could see parallels between Poland’s fragile security in the 1930’s and its status in the early 1990’s, the country attempted to rejoin Europe not as a belligerent, but as a country, which supports international cooperation and security resulted initiatives.

To its east, Poland found itself among the newly independent, but still nascent countries of Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine (see Figure 1). Simultaneously, Russia attempted to maintain control over its vast territories, particularly in the Caucasus, while being cut off from the Kaliningrad District on the Polish-Lithuanian border. To its west, Poland gazed on an economically formidable, yet potentially overextended Germany.



Figure 1 - Map of Poland
Source: www.Poland.com.pl

Poland's goal of increased security through integration and cooperation among Eastern European countries and Western institutions such as NATO emerged rapidly after Poland regained independence. The desire for NATO membership, in particular, emerged from destabilization in Central and Eastern Europe and intensified with disintegration of the Soviet Union. NATO represented security and equilibrium in the midst of a chaotic Eastern Europe, and membership would help solidify the positive internal changes taking place in Poland. In June 1991, Poland's president, Lech Walesa, visited NATO headquarters, establishing military contacts between NATO and Poland. However, NATO's first reaction to Polish overtures was discouraging. NATO leadership was wary of its former adversary's intentions, and the alliance itself was caught unprepared for the sweeping changes taking place in Europe, conceptually, organizationally and economically. Yet in the same month, NATO Foreign Ministers issued the Copenhagen Proclamation, vowing partnership with East-Central European countries. The Proclamation did not specifically cover security or military matters, but emphasized increased broad institutional cooperation. After the 1 June 1991 decision to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and particularly after the failed August 1991 coup in Moscow, events moved more quickly. Poland, together with the other members of the Visegrad Group (Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic), lobbied together for NATO membership and to prevent further isolation. The November 1991 NATO summit held in Rome agreed on a step-by-step process for cooperation between the Alliance and the Visegrad Group, presenting Poland with the daunting task of helping to create a stable security environment both domestically and regionally.

CHAPTER 4

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS

Poland's domestic threats stemmed directly from the political and economical instability of the transformation period experienced by Soviet Bloc countries. There was apprehension concerning pro-Western "Solidarity," and that the failure of political, economical, and social reforms coupled with internal unrest could lead to reform collapse, denying Poland its hopes for democracy. The return of an authoritarian government appeared possible and even probable. In September 1989, the big winner of the Polish presidential election was the old communist leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chosen because Poles saw him as a stabilizer at a point of great political instability. Additionally, the political situation was degrading as a result of inadequate and outdated legislation, a lack of democratic practices, and administrative and political experience. The lack of quick economic progress, high levels of unemployment, corruption, poor living conditions, and economic and political disaffection threatened to halt process altogether. Economic malaise and social unrest was likely to foster extreme nationalism and lead to crime, weakening the democratization process and increasing social tensions. The minorities issue in Poland threatened to exacerbate tensions between Poland and its neighbors, particularly those who had close ethnic affinity with Poland's minorities.

According to Theo von del Doel:

"Poland's population included various minority groups – Germans, Silesians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians – as a result of many border changes in the past. The decisive factor was the overall size about 800,000."¹²

¹² Theo van den Doel. Central Europe - The New Allies. The Road from Visegrad to Brussels (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 45.

In addition to the challenges outlined above, the armed forces were engaged in the painful process of restructuring and reorganizing in the midst of budget cuts. Combined, these factors made Poland vulnerable, making internal stability a top priority on the road to integration with the West.

Several issues should be noted with regard to internal security. First, political, economic and social reforms deeply affected Poland's internal security. Secondly, that these reforms were inextricably intertwined and not separate elements, though economic reform remained the dominant factor. The absence of economic recovery could result in a changing of the political guard, nationalism, and the repression of minorities. The chance that this might indeed occur in Poland seemed very real.

Beyond internal unrest, numerous external threats after 1989 threatened Poland's national security. The most dangerous was German resurgence followed closely by Russia's claim to regional hegemony, including Poland. Additionally, Poland faced an influx of millions of refugees from Russia as a result of internal war, an influx that the Polish government saw as a threat to Poland's stability. According Polish Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Macierewicz, another risk

“was posed by the possibility of nuclear blackmail – when a number of republics had a weapon of mass destruction (nuclear and chemical) of their own.”¹³

The issue of nationality also posed a significant risk. The presence of Byelorussians and Ukrainians in Poland introduced possible external interference from these republics, making security cooperation difficult at best. A less direct threat was the possibility of an armed conflict between Ukraine and Russia spilling over into Poland (see Figure 2). Also possible was continuation of Russian military occupation of the Baltic States, which would threaten

¹³ van den Doel, 45.

regional stability. If Russia increased its military presence in the region, Poland would feel itself threatened directly, a possibility that the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad watched with great interest.



Figure 2 - Map of Central and Eastern Europe
Source: www.Poland.com.pl

These internal and external factors continued to play a key role in determining Poland's future political path. Faced with these factors and political threats to its overall national security interests, Poland looked to Western Europe.

CHAPTER 5

THE RUSSIAN – POLISH PROBLEM

Poland's relations with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania during the 1990s were influenced heavily by Poland's historical experience.¹⁴ Those relationships differed greatly from those with Germany and Poland's Southern and Northern neighbors.^{15, 16} Historically speaking, it would be difficult to say exactly when the scales of power tipped in Russia's favor. What is certain is that Russia systematically erased Poland from the map of Europe after 1772, and that Polish hostility to Tsarist Russia grew in response. The 1917 Russian Revolution added an ideological dimension to the conflict. Additionally, collaboration between Stalin and Hitler during WWII and Poland's semi-colonial dependence on the Soviet Union after WWII are still recent history for Poland. The situation could be described as follows:

“Conflicting Polish and Russian imperial tendencies in the borderlands between western and eastern Slavdom, Russian military pressure and armed Polish insurrections, as well as religious and cultural conflict between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism, have produced a mixture more flammable than a Molotov cocktail.”¹⁷

These memories of past and present grievances led Poland to seek cooperation with Germany rather than with Russia in every field in the 1990s. Many Polish politicians were aware that Poland could not make itself secure at Russia's expense by isolating Russia economically and politically. They believed that such policy could not succeed, and that Russia might respond with provocative displays of Great Russian nationalism or a pact with

¹⁴ Karp, 78. Poland's relations with Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine were conditioned by the fact that the whole of Lithuania and western Belarus and Ukraine were once part of Polish territory. Centuries of hostile relations left their mark on the border regions, especially in regard to ethnic complexity and minorities' problems. There were somewhere between 390,000 and 680,000 Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians still living in Poland, while from 890,000 to 1.5 million Poles lived in these three adjoining countries.

¹⁵ For more information see Appendix D, 41.

¹⁶ For more information see Appendix E, 43.

¹⁷ Karp, 78.

Germany against Poland's national security. As such, a Polish-Russian good-neighbor treaty was signed on 22 May 1992, although the basic text had been agreed upon on 10 December 1991. For Poland, evaluation of Eastern state structures following the breakup of the Soviet Union had obvious importance. The best case envisioned a Russian Federation emerging in the spring of 1992 that was simply a continuation of the old Soviet Union under a different name, but a new, open and friendly state with unequivocal name and identity; simply Russia.

Another key problem facing Poland's security was negotiations for withdrawal of the ex-Soviet Army Northern Group from Poland, a problem that was complicated by the fact that these troops had been based in Poland without any legal agreement. And even late in 1989, Poland was not able to execute its rights in this regard. For Poland,

“the presence in the spring of 1992 of 35-50,000 Soviet troops on their territory was not only a military threat, but also a symbol of their semi-colonial status.”¹⁸

This symbol became even more glaring after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. A tentative agreement, signed on 26 October 1991, stipulated that the bulk of the troops stationed in Poland should leave by November 1992. Conflict arose over such financial questions as payment for environmental damage to Polish territory, the value of installations being left behind, and unpaid bills for supplies, utilities and other services. Final agreement on those issues was reached in Moscow on May 1992. The agreement included essentially a “zero sum option,” under which Poland dropped claims for economic damages and Russia agreed to hand over its military installations in Poland without any preconditions.

The final destination of the ex-Red Army forces withdrawn from the former Soviet bloc countries created another security problem. Those troops were quartered in the Kaliningrad District on Poland's northern border, where they formed a military presence larger and more

¹⁸ Karp, 80.

powerful than the existing Polish Armed Forces. The strategic significance of this Russian military zone, given the existence of nuclear weapons, made Poland edgy. Understandably, Russian military presence of this scale so close to the border fostered negative imagines of Russian hegemony and aggression, forcing Poland to maintain a close military watch on the area. The second source of fear was the Russia-Germany plan to turn Kaliningrad into a free economic zone, and to resettle two million ethnic Volga Germans therein. Poland protested, informing Russia that implementation of such a scheme in Kaliningrad represented a direct threat to its national security. Many felt

“that the resettlement would recreate the Polish territorial dilemma of the interwar period, with a Polish “corridor” running toward Germany proper and an area that would gravitate toward Germany politically and economically.”¹⁹

Most of all, Poland feared that such engagement might lead to further territorial revisions. Fortunately, Polish protests prevented realization of the Kaliningrad scheme, but for many it signaled that Kaliningrad would remain one of the most potentially difficult and unsettling issues in Europe.

Disintegration of the former Soviet Union created an additional security problem for Poland, and was watched with great concern. A statement by Andrzej Macierewicz, the Polish Minister of the Internal Affairs, asserted that

“[t]he dynamic decommunization of the former Soviet Union may at any moment lead to a civil war with the use of weapons of mass destruction. The fighting could spill over Polish territory. Poland could be threatened by a massive flow of refugees, the suspension of supplies of raw materials, and the activity of Soviet mafia.”²⁰

Additionally, a fresh start in Polish-Russian relations would require rational settlement of outstanding issues including

¹⁹ Andrew A. Michta, East Central Europe After the Warsaw Pact. Security Dilemmas in the 1990s (Washington: Greenwood Press, 1992), 84.

²⁰ Karp, 80.

“the forced deportation to Soviet prison camps during WWII of over 1.2 million Poles, the murder of about 15000 Polish officers who had been taken prisoner by the USSR, and compensation for the property left in the east by about 2 million people who were resettled within the new boundaries of Poland after the war.”²¹

Last but not least, a problem between both states was created by Poland’s desire to join the western security structure over Russian objections. A nationwide opinion poll conducted in 1994 asked,

“Which countries do Poles see as potential threats? 54 percent of respondents believed that Russia poses the greatest threat to the interests of Poland. Almost 66 percent of respondents were of the opinion that Poland would be adversely affected by a hypothetic civil war in Russia, and 71 percent think that Poland’s fate would be negatively affected by an outbreak of hunger in Russia. A smaller proportion of respondents were concerned about the return of dictatorship in Russia (41%), or a slowdown in the process of democratic transformation there (41%).”²²

Prospects for relations with Byelorussia, another Soviet successor, were less than encouraging. The leaders of Byelorussia’s independence movement viewed Poland with suspicion as a potential danger to Byelorussia’s self-determination, placing Poland on par with the Russian threat. Anti-Polish sentiment in the republic surfaced with considerable force during Byelorussia’s 1990 election, and Byelorussia appeared to harbor territorial claims against Poland. Despite these factors, Poland’s desire to establish good relations with its neighbors continued with a good-neighbor pact in October 1991. In March 1992, the two countries established diplomatic relations, signed a consular agreement and began joint work on the first bilateral treaty in their long history.

In 1990 and 1991, relations between Poland and Lithuania were strained, despite the fact that the Polish government was outspoken in its support of Lithuanian independence. Lithuanian political leaders expressed concern over being dominated by Poland once

²¹ Henryk Kubiak, Polish Minorities and Emigrants in the former USSR (Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Bellona, 1992), 3. (in Polish)

²² Karp, 77.

independence was achieved, and territorial concerns fostered uncertainty surrounding future Polish-Lithuanian relations. At the core of potential territorial dispute lay the future status of the city of Vilnius, which prior to WWII had belonged to Poland. In addition to territorial disputes,

“Polish-Lithuanian relations could also be complicated by the presence of large Polish minority in Lithuania, estimated in 1990 to number about 800,000.”²³

Polish-Lithuanian relations since 1990 were also colored by Lithuania’s dramatic attempt to recover its national identity. On the Polish side, the question of the Polish minority was exacerbated by the somewhat paternalistic attitude that some Polish circles showed toward Lithuanian aspirations. On the other hand, Lithuanian authorities from the very beginning treated Lithuanians of Polish descent as second-class citizens. Despite tensions, however, Poland declared its willingness to restore full diplomatic relations as early as August 1991, a date pushed back by the conflict over the Polish minority to January 1992.

Polish-Ukrainian relations were tense due to previous Polish domination and Ukraine’s fight against it. Since 1990, Warsaw had viewed with concern repeated expressions of nationalist sentiments on the part of the Ukrainian “Rukh” independence movement, fearing that, even if at present claims were no more than a minor annoyance, they might become a source of constant friction after the 1991 Ukrainian declaration of statehood. Polish-Ukrainian relations of the 1990s remained strained, and Poland listed Ukraine among the challenges to lasting future security. Despite Ukrainian tensions, however, in December 1991, Poland became the first country to recognize Ukrainian independence, at the same time underscoring that Ukraine was of paramount importance in Polish foreign relations. But two problems weighed in on Polish-Ukrainian relations; the minorities on both sides of the border and the

²³ Michta, 81.

national functions of the Polish Roman Catholic and Ukrainian United-Greek Catholic churches. Despite lingering issues, however, the process of improving relations between the two countries continued on a promising note. Stability was achieved in May 1992 with the signing in Warsaw of a good-neighbor treaty, confirming the inviolability of existing borders.

CHAPTER 6

SEARCH FOR NEW SECURITY

Poland searched for security as it faced threats to its western and eastern borders after 1989, but met with initial resistance from NATO, forcing Poland to look to different security options. As described by Jeffrey Simon in *NATO Enlargement: Opinions and Options*, the first option, based on NATO's initial unwillingness to support Poland's membership desires, considered an option of rebuilding old links with Russia in the hope to restoring the credibility of Russia's security guarantee.²⁴

The essential condition for this idea was to be full political and legal equality in future relations between Poland and Russia. However, the validity of this option could not be judged on the basis of history, wishful thinking, or political declarations. Russian policy could be the only basis for rational assessment. In particular, what mattered was Russia's internal development toward democracy and a strong economy, engagement in conflicts with neighbors, and its attitude toward other nations aspiring to independence. Evaluated with respect to these criteria, this Russian option did not look very plausible. The second option envisioned Poland as a neutral country and considered

“pursuing neutrality and self-defense. For Poland, located in the middle of the continent and between larger and more potent neighbors, the following theoretical conditions to make neutrality and self-defense credible, need to be fulfilled: first, a powerful economy; second, a well-functioning system of a pan-European collective security.”²⁵

Neither of these conditions existed at the beginning of the 1990s in Poland, and did not appear likely in the foreseeable future. The third option tried to assure security by

²⁴ Jeffrey Simon. *NATO Enlargement. Opinions and Options* (Washington: National Defense University, 1995), 78.

²⁵ Simon, 78.

“build[ing] a regional security system among the small and medium-sized states surrounding Poland.”²⁶

This option presupposed a common will among concerned states, and cohesion in their foreign and security policies. Again, despite the existence of various regional economic and political initiatives, the states taking part in these ventures had no desire to create a new and separate security alliance. The fourth option, despite initial resistance from NATO,

“pursued integration with the Euro-Atlantic security system, the only functioning and well-proven grouping of states, based on commonality of values and interests.”²⁷

The conditions here seemed as straightforward as they were demanding. Poland would be required to fulfill all the internal, political, legal, and economic standards necessary for acceptance by all members of the system. Furthermore, to achieve membership, Poland had to be ready to sacrifice some of its hard-won independence on the altar of a new international order for cooperation and collective security and collective defense. This option was the most advantageous since it not only provided Poland not only with a credible security guarantee, but also assured accelerated economic and social development. The situation drove Poland to establish the closest possible links with western institutions, believing that those links would yield a synergistic interaction. Warsaw recognized that Western European security institutions such as NATO had prevented war in Europe and ideally should more effectively defuse future tensions before they erupted in conflict like the civil war in Yugoslavia. For Poland and other countries, the relatively peaceful 1989 revolutions provided European security institutions with another important and historical opportunity to integrate emerging democracies, particularly given the failed coup in August 1991 in the former Soviet Union, and the resulting dissolution of the Soviet Union into independent countries. The upheaval that

²⁶ Simon, 78.

²⁷ Simon, 78.

resulted in the emergence of an unstable Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania on Poland's eastern borders, and the pressure for a unified Germany to increase its economic outreach eastward, propelled Warsaw to strengthen ties to its eastern and western neighbors, and to promote itself as a stabilizing force in a rapidly changing Europe. Poland wanted to create close partnership with all regional neighbors, including those hostile during World War II, and to create non-threatening security for all involved.

From the end of 1992 with acceptance of the "tenets of the Polish Security Policy," the desire for membership in the North Atlantic Alliance grew steadily. The initial goal was to obtain a declaration from NATO that it would open membership to emerging Central European states. Actual membership in NATO became the target of strategic planning, which, although never clearly formulated, meant that NATO accession was the driving force behind Polish foreign policy, a desire made clear to the West by the middle of 1993. This was a consciously conducted operation designed to quell Western doubts about Polish sincerity. As well as being obstinate, untiring and insufferable, Warsaw used all available opportunities for persuasion, and would not stop until it obtained NATO membership. The underlying premise for the Polish position was clear cut. First, that NATO was the sole reliable collective defense system in the Euro-Atlantic zone. And second, that NATO membership, in light of Poland's geopolitical situation, could effectively guarantee its security.

Lacking NATO acceptance, Poland prepared its military to defend against all possible enemies, including NATO states. Only the Madrid declaration in 1997 and NATO acceptance softened the perceived requirements for the "all-around" defense of the early 1990s. Subsequent military reforms in 1997 eliminated the recently established four military districts,

replacing them with two districts; the Pomeranian and the Silesian, corresponding to the restructured national defense system.

Considerable military reforms were introduced in September 1997 under a program named Army 2012: The Foundation of the Modernization Program for the Armed Forces 1998-2012. The program reshaped Polish military policy, focusing military efforts on those functions required for NATO membership. In mid-1998, the program was augmented by sixty-five itemized objectives aimed at preparing Polish armed forces to NATO standards prior to Poland's formal membership in 1999. The changes introduced by Army 2012 dealt with the areas of command structure and budgetary process. Additionally, Army 2012 addressed the urgent need for Polish defense industry reform while preserving residual research and development potential present in the Polish defense sector. In all, Army 2012 outlined three reform phases; 1998-2002, 2003-2007, and 2008-2012, with most structural changes concentrated in the first two phases. Army 2012 prioritized reforms, beginning with armed forces organizational structure and personnel end strength, followed by training and equipment requirements. The program stipulated total force reductions from more than 450,000 to an end strength of 180,000 by the year 2004. The planned personnel reductions, which were not universally accepted, would be accomplished primarily by cutting the number of draftees serving in the Polish army and by increasing the ranks of professional personnel. All efforts were aimed clearly at strengthening Polish armed forces and their ability to cooperate with NATO forces.

To meet one of the additional sixty-five objectives for NATO integration, Poland, within the Partnership for Peace Program, offered approximately thirty thousand soldiers from its operational forces for NATO mission tasking. Polish forces were earmarked both for NATO's

Main Defense Forces as well its power projection mission within the Allied Command Europe (ACE) Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) and the Immediate Reaction Forces (IRF). The Twelfth Mechanized Division in Szczecin and the Eleventh Armored Cavalry Division were assigned to NATO's Main Defense Forces, with select units assigned to ARRC duties. The Polish units assigned to NATO's projection missions included the Twenty-fifth Air Cavalry Brigade, the Tenth Armored Cavalry Brigade, the Twelfth Mechanized Brigade and the Sixth Air Assault Brigade, including the Eighteenth Air Assault Battalion and the Sixteenth Paratrooper Battalion, which had served within Stabilization Forces (SFOR) in Bosnia and was already fully interoperable with NATO forces as a result of extensive interaction and training. Additional forces and facilities quickly made available for NATO tasking included two naval bases as well as two airfields and several storage depots. In order to elevate military training and educations to NATO standards prior to membership, Army 2012 subordinated three officer academies directly to Ground Forces Command. Military reforms and modernization efforts upheld Poland's security policy and signaled sincerity concerning Poland's NATO membership bid.

Beyond training and facilities, however, Poland also required extensive hardware upgrades. To meet NATO requirements, the Polish government identified eleven weapons programs it considered essential to its equipment modernization program, including communications and command systems, an improved air defense system (the "Loara program"), anti-tank systems, helicopters (the "Huzar program"), an armor system, especially a wheeled personnel carrier, and multipurpose fighter aircraft to be purchased from foreign partners. Regardless of final Polish armed forces end strength, it was clear that Army 2012 assumed the preservation of the existing three services; air and air defense forces, the navy,

and ground forces, comprised of operational forces and the territorial defense forces. Among the sixty-five for NATO-integration objectives, the most important constituted improvements to communications, infrastructure, and professional staff personnel quality. In 1998, Poland focused its resources mainly on communication system modernization and training for personnel designated to operate the new equipment.

Poland's decision to join NATO was a result of deliberate strategic choices, made on the basis of historical experience and a thorough examination of Poland's security needs. By joining the Alliance in 1999, Poland quelled persisting fears of another Yalta and maximized its security against possible resurgence of Russian domination. NATO membership opened a new chapter in Poland's international relations, giving it the opportunity to stabilize the region and accelerate its economic development. From the military point of view, membership also helped Poland achieved higher standards, closing the gap between its own military and those of other NATO members.

For the average Polish officer, newly regained independence and NATO membership signified a radical shift in lifestyle, service and professional thought. Educated in Soviet military academies based on Russian military theorists and tactics, they now found themselves exposed to Western influences. Poles began studying at western academies and universities in order to align themselves more closely with NATO. Rigid Soviet training was replaced by western training that welcomed new ideas and techniques. Western views and training revolutionized Polish education and triggered military reforms, returning freedom Poles had not experienced in decades. New equipment purchased primarily from western partners not only strengthened the Polish armed forces, but spurred new development in Poland's military industry. These advances helped create a more independent, mobile, professional, and

valuable combat power within NATO. Today, Poland's armed forces represent one of the primary pillars of Polish national security.

Poland's official admission to NATO signified the completion of only the initial stage of reforms and efforts, which began after the Madrid Summit in 1997. As a NATO member, Poland would enjoy technological, educational advances, but it would also have to face real legal, organizational and financial challenges. Poland required a new defense strategy and new military doctrine, while continuing broad military reforms.

Poland's military contribution as a new member in NATO, measured by the number of the armed forces (180,000) and basic equipment, has been significant. In quantitative military strength, Poland now ranks fifth among NATO members. Despite continued downsizing, Poland's standing remains secure, as interaction with NATO partners increases. Tapping into Poland's academic potential and military experience, NATO partners have enjoyed advances in military science, education organization, research and development and strategic studies.

Poland's position within the Treaty is now clear. Poland has been recognized as a NATO member with full rights, entering all structures and without any extra legal regulations. Though its actual position in NATO has not been completely determined, it is widely recognized that Poland's position will be further defined by two factors:

“Poland's geographical location and conditions [and] Poland's potential, and its material and military contribution to the Treaty.”²⁸

Poland's location in Central Europe carries with it undeniable significance. It is located in the middle of one of the four geographically strategic regions of the continent with traditional communication routes from West to East. Poland's membership in NATO has reshaped the

²⁸ Kuzniar, 456.

main strategic direction of the Treaty, which has focused its sights on new strategic partners, Russia and Ukraine.

While joining NATO has helped Poland achieve its main security goals and helped improve the quality and potential of its armed forces, a vocal minority has expressed concerns. The chief complaint is that Poland, having recently gained independence from the Soviet Union, should not resign itself to second-class citizenship among the powerful nations of NATO. An underlying fear is that NATO has morphed from its original state in 1949, now pursuing the interests of the “inner circle” comprised by such countries as the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany. Some Poles fear that

“Poland and the other new NATO members face the risk of being left out in the cold.”²⁹

More importantly, a segment of Poland’s public fear improved relations between the United States and Russia spawned by Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. As a result, Moscow now enjoys increased leverage in some key areas of NATO decision-making. The improvement in US-Russian relations has raised questions in Poland as to whether this new NATO is the same institution that Poland fought so hard to join. Some feel that Poland is falling into a trap of its own making, joining organizations based on their historical success rather than current relevance. Although concerns of losing Poland’s sovereignty became quite popular, reality proved otherwise, upholding the beliefs of many Poles that

“[t]hrough membership in the treaty smaller states have bigger influence on international issues than if acting alone.”³⁰

Despite the limitations on Poland’s sovereignty listed above, the benefits of achieving NATO security guarantees and military input far outweigh the costs. Regardless of the role

²⁹ Julian Kaczmarek. NATO Polska 2000 (Warszawa: Alta 2, 1999), 86. (in Polish)

³⁰ Kaczmarek, 85.

and stature of Poland in the treaty, Poles, while pushing for membership, still focused on Polish security, expressing views similar to those of Professor Stanislaw Koziej, who argued that Poland needed to

“develop cooperation in the sphere of security with Russia and Ukraine, which can minimize or eliminate tensions dangerous for Poland’s security and widen a space of common security including the continuation of the enlargement of NATO.”³¹

Achievement of NATO membership meant the realization of Poland’s prime security policy goals of the 1990s, but membership did not answer all of Poland’s security challenges. the prime goal of the Polish security policy of the 1990’s. Nonetheless, that policy did not come to an end in March 1999. In a speech to Parliament in May 2000, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Bronislaw Geremek declared;

“Security is not a static state. Our membership in the North Atlantic Alliance does not close the problem of Polish security – on the contrary, it opens up a new stage and poses novel tasks. The very process of the development of a security system in the transatlantic region is continuous and dynamic. As we have said upon numerous occasions, Poland consistently intends to participate fully in joint efforts of the Euro-Atlantic community aimed at consolidating the stability of the entire area, and creating effective instruments of preventing crises and conflicts.”³²

The statement expressed rising Polish views that joining NATO was never the ultimate goal of its security policy, but merely a stepping stone in a much broader vision of Polish foreign policy, namely building a free, democratic, and undivided Europe. Realizing that instability in the East threatened Polish views of European unity, Poland sought to strengthen alliances with its eastern neighbors.

Though it never forgot the historical threat posed by the former Soviet Union, Poland recognized that Polish and ultimately European security depended greatly on the security of its eastern neighbors. To protect against the rebirth of Russian imperialism and German

³¹ Kaczmarek, 96.

³² Kuzniar, 346.

revisionism, Poland needed to help extend the stability, prosperity and security offered by NATO membership to emerging states.

Polish support for expansion of NATO to the Baltic states and smaller countries to the south, including Slovakia and Slovenia, was aimed not only at increasing Polish security against possible Russian attempts to reach into Central Europe, but at building a more secure Europe. As a result, Poland nominated itself as a vocal advocate for emerging nations. Determined to erase divisions that had relegated Eastern Europe to the peripheries of European politics and economic gains, Poland sought continued NATO expansion. Further enlargement of the Alliance, continued along the lines drawn in the 1997 Madrid Declaration meant continued advancements in stability and security throughout Europe. For Poland specifically, NATO enlargement was considered a key factor in building post-communist security, and another step toward final European unification. As a result, Poland pursued friendly relations with all regional states, regardless of NATO membership.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Poland's national security strategy has always been shaped by the European geopolitical situation and related security threats. During the Cold War period, Poland pursued sovereignty and an ability to formulate her own independent national security policy. Immediately after the Cold War, Poland searched for solutions to assure its basic security needs as a newly independent state, countering perceived German resurgence and Russian dominance. Viewing NATO as the only security structure in Europe capable of providing the security it desired, Poland pursued NATO membership, realizing its goal in 1999.

However, joining the Alliance is not the solution to all of Poland's security concerns. Other security challenges, including unstable eastern neighbors, international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and unpredictable policies of authoritarian regimes continue. Unable to answer all of these challenges alone, Poland views NATO enlargement as the most feasible answer. From Poland's perspective, benefits of NATO enlargement far outweigh potential risks that may include Russian misinterpretation of new member intent and new members' over-dependence on NATO for security. While NATO enrollment does carry with it increased security for new members, NATO will continue as a viable security organization only so long as all of its members share the security responsibility. Failure of new members to build their own security structures would gradually over-tax traditionally strong NATO members, diverting precious security resources to provide internal stability.

NATO's decision to accept Poland's membership bid during the last enlargement round proved not only beneficial to Poland, but gained NATO the fifth largest armed forces in

Europe, and a reliable strategic partner in Central Europe. Two weeks after joining the Treaty, Poland committed troops to Kosovo, and later to Afghanistan and Iraq during Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. In addition to participating actively in NATO military operations, Poland focused on economic and military reforms required to more fully integrate with NATO needs. Taking the obligations of membership seriously, Poland stands ready to fulfill NATO tasking to improve European and world-wide stability and security.

Overcoming centuries of mistrust, Poland has fully embraced its eastern and western neighbors, and through the Membership Action Plan, hopes to expand stability and security throughout Central Europe, erasing common stereotypes labeling Central and Eastern European countries as hotbeds for instability and corruption.³³ As evidenced by repaired relations between Poland and Germany, improved communication is the key to erasing hatred. Improved communications will continue to foster greater understanding, opening borders to facilitate regional cooperation.

In a region teeming with fledgling nation-states, NATO enlargement promises each new member the chance to actively participate in regional and global decisions while developing their own futures. An expanded NATO would replace Cold War factionalism with a stabilizing blanket of security and prosperity. Moreover, NATO enlargement would help preempt threats posed by states outside the NATO fraternity. Accepting Poland's neighbors, including Russia and Ukraine, creates a "win" for all involved, providing increased security and accelerated internal reform for new members and increased stability for NATO.

While many feel that Russia may resist NATO expansion, acceptance by each of its neighbors and the new-found security and prosperity that each should achieve may help

³³ For more information see Appendix F, 44.

weaken that resistance. While NATO membership does not preclude tension between member states, it does provide those members a democratic forum in which to air grievances, ultimately reducing regional volatility.

NATO enlargement in Europe would also mean at least modest economic stability for new members, essential for regional economic growth. Furthermore, it would accelerate economic unification under the European Union (EU), indirectly transforming Central and Eastern European economies into free market systems. Once stable, new members would be able to focus on economic advancement, creating increased long-term financial investment in NATO.

Beyond purely economic advantages, NATO enlargement would also strengthen the Alliance through manpower and armament increases, improving NATO security forces while proportionally reducing each member's physical commitment in that structure. From Poland's military viewpoint, NATO enlargement would carry the added benefit of surrounding Poland with stable, secure allies, eliminating Poland's existence as a "border state," an experience wholly foreign to Poland. And should Poland require military assistance, NATO enlargement would place that assistance within easy reach. Closer military contacts between Poland and new NATO members would also facilitate informational and technological exchanges, providing near-optimal solutions to persistent challenges. The end result would be a NATO capable not only of responding to crises militarily, but through expanded diplomatic and economic ties, able to defuse potentially disastrous crises before they erupt.

Perhaps best described graphically, Figure 3 depicts the benefits of NATO enlargement. Offered increased security and stability, new members would be able to focus their efforts on economic progress, creating stronger armed forces, part of which would be designated for NATO use, which in turn would create a stronger, more capable NATO. In short, NATO

expansion would lay the foundation for improving European (and hence worldwide) security and stability, accelerating economic growth, improving regional militaries, and ultimately, NATO.

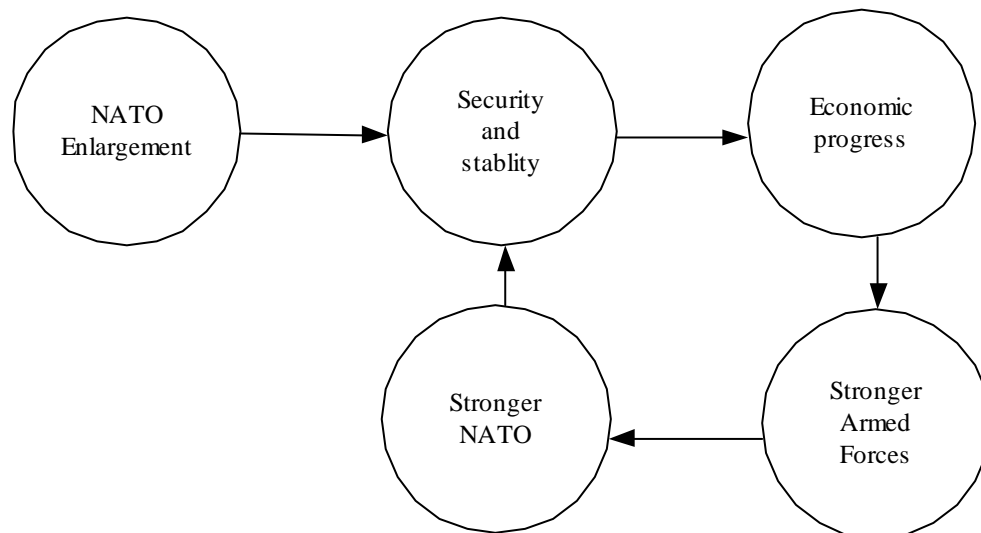


Figure 3 - Benefits of NATO Enlargement

While the benefits of NATO enlargement appear irreproachable, NATO and its members must not take expansion for granted. In a world of increasing chaos and asymmetry, NATO cannot afford to let expansion wither on the vine. The consequences of inattention can be seen around the globe in places like Afghanistan and Sudan, where years of inattention created conditions ripe for terrorist activity. Only constant global engagement like that provided by an enlarged NATO will be able to meet future challenges.

So why is enlargement so important to Poland? Already involved in Afghanistan, the Arabian Gulf and countless other hotspots around the globe, Poland has a vested interest in global stability. Closer to home, NATO expansion promises not only economic and political advancement, but relief from centuries of regional threats. Surrounded by NATO members,

Poland will finally be able to breathe easy, knowing that its borders, for the first time in recent memory, are safe.

APPENDIX A - THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION³⁴

From 1945 to 1949, faced with the pressing need for economic reconstruction, Western European countries and their North American allies viewed with concern the expansionist policies and methods of the USSR. Having fulfilled their own wartime undertakings to reduce their defense establishments and to demobilize forces, Western governments became increasingly alarmed as it became clear that the Soviet leadership intended to maintain its own military forces at full strength. Moreover, in view of the declared ideological aims of the Soviet Communist Party, it was evident that appeals for respect for the United Nations Charter, and for respect for the international settlements reached at the end of the war, would not guarantee the national sovereignty or independence of democratic states faced with the threat of outside aggression or internal subversion. The imposition of undemocratic forms of government and the repression of effective opposition and of basic human and civic rights and freedoms in many Central and Eastern European countries as well as elsewhere in the world, added to these fears. Between 1947 and 1949 a series of dramatic political events brought matters to a head. These included direct threats to the sovereignty of Norway, Greece, Turkey and other Western European countries, the June 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia, and the illegal blockade of Berlin which began in April of the same year. The signature of the Brussels Treaty of March 1948 marked the determination of five Western European countries - Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom - to develop a common defense system and to strengthen the ties between them in a manner which would enable them to resist ideological, political and military threats to their security. Negotiations with the United States and Canada then followed on the creation of a single North Atlantic

³⁴ Source: <http://www.nato.int>

Alliance based on security guarantees and mutual commitments between Europe and North America. Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway and Portugal were invited by the Brussels Treaty powers to become participants in this process. These negotiations culminated in the signature of the Treaty Washington in April 1949, bringing into being a common security system based on a partnership among these 12 countries. In 1952, Greece and Turkey acceded to the Treaty. The Federal Republic of Germany joined the Alliance in 1955 and, in 1982; Spain also became a member of NATO. The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland joined NATO in 1999. The North Atlantic Alliance was founded on the basis of a Treaty between member states entered into freely by each of them after public debate and due parliamentary process. The Treaty upholds their individual rights as well as their international obligations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It commits each member country to sharing the risks and responsibilities as well as the benefits of collective security and requires of each of them the undertaking not to enter into any other international commitment, which might conflict with the Treaty. Between the creation of the Alliance and the present day, half a century of history has taken place. For much of this time the central focus of NATO was providing for the immediate defense and security of its member countries. Today this remains its core task, but its immediate focus has undergone fundamental change.

APPENDIX B - THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE³⁵

The Partnership for Peace (PFP) is chiefly aimed at defense cooperation and is the operational side of the Partnership framework, designed to reinforce stability and reduce the risk of conflict. Since its creation in 1994 it has been joined by 30 countries, three of which – the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland – have since become members of the Alliance. The PFP's main task is to increase the participants' ability to act in concert. Through various mechanisms it helps Partner countries prepare to operate jointly with NATO forces. The key contribution of the PFP is establishing a real dialogue between NATO and each participant. Joint activities and regular consultation improve transparency in national defense planning and budgeting, encourage democratic control of the armed forces and help nations equip and train to operate at the Alliance's side, generally furthering the democratic values at the heart of NATO's partnership policy.

³⁵ Source: <http://www.nato.int>

APPENDIX C - THE VISEGRAD GROUP³⁶

The Visegrad Four is an unofficial name given to the four Central European post communist countries the Czech Republic, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Poland and the Slovak Republic. Originally, the group was called the Visegrad Troika and the Four is the result of the split of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in 1993. The name of this grouping was chosen during a meeting of the President of the CSFR Václav Havel, the Prime Minister of Hungary József Antall, and the President of Poland Lech Walesa at an event held at the north Hungarian city of Visegrad on February 15, 1991. At this meeting the leaders signed a declaration on a close co-operation of these three (today four) countries on their way to European integration. After the collapse of the communist regime their co-operation was important for the transition from a totalitarian regime to a free, plural and democratic society. The Visegrad Group reflects the efforts of the countries of the Central European region to work together in a number of fields of common interest within all-European integration. The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia have always been part of one civilization sharing cultural and intellectual values and common roots of religious traditions, which they wish to preserve and further strengthen. All the V4 countries aspire to become members of the European Union, perceiving their integration in the EU as another step forward in the process of overcoming artificial dividing lines in Europe through mutual support. The V4 Group was not created as an alternative to all-European integration efforts nor does it try to compete with the existing functional Central European structures. Its activities are in no way aimed at isolation or the weakening of ties with the other countries. On the contrary the Group aims at encouraging optimum cooperation with all countries, in particular its neighbors, its ultimate interest being the democratic development in all parts of Europe. The V4 Group wishes to

³⁶ Source: <http://www.visegradgroup.org>

contribute towards building the European security architecture based on effective, functionally complementary and mutually reinforcing cooperation and coordination within existing European and transatlantic institutions. In order to preserve and promote cultural cohesion, cooperation within the V-4 Group will enhance the imparting of values in the field of culture, education, science and exchange of information. All the activities of the Visegrad Group are aimed at strengthening stability in the Central European region. The participating countries perceive their cooperation as a challenge and its success as the best proof of their ability to integrate also into such structures, as is e.g. the European Union.

APPENDIX D - POLISH - GERMAN PRECAUTIONS RELATIONSHIP

For a thousand years, Germany has been Poland's only western neighbor. Centuries of conflict punctuated by rare periods of peaceful cooperation have created a historical relationship that has caused trauma, injury, stereotyping and hatred – as well as hope in Poland. Poland's western border established at the end of WWII at the expense of German territory was a key problem in the relationship between the two countries. The threat of German resurgence toward the Polish western border, which was established in Yalta by Soviet Russia, Great Britain and USA, was exceptionally dangerous from Poland's standpoint. But the issue of a Solidarity-led government was very sensitive. Poland's fear of a hostile German reaction had been fueled throughout the Cold War by Soviet Union. According Soviets, Germany was Poland's greatest enemy, an enemy bent on regaining territory lost after WWII. If Russian predictions of a hostile Germany policy toward Poland proved true, it would spell the end of Poland's hopes for joining western security structures, and continuation as a Soviet vassal. Fortunately the new Polish Solidarity government understood Poland's road to the West led through Germany. By supporting German unification, Poland initiated good relations with its western neighbor. Polish policies under Tadeusz Mazowiecki finally bore fruit in November 1990, when Poland signed a treaty with Germany confirming the existing western state border and regulating territorial issues between Poland and Germany. A second treaty signed on 17 June 1991 regulated good-neighbor relations and formalized friendly cooperation, and a separate agreement signed on 16 October 1991 settled compensation owed to Poles persecuted by Nazi Germany. Most importantly, the agreements made great strides to reduce mutual suspicion and calm Polish

fears about German resurgence, providing Poland the chance to join Western security structures.

Although Polish-German relations looked promising by 1991, both sides still suffered from damaging stereotypes and xenophobic attitudes, expressed in Polish slogans like “Polacken raus,” or “Poland for the Poles.” Despite historical concerns, however, Polish – German reconciliation proceeded, on both the state and individual level. Germans viewed the treaties as a call to other European nations to overcome past suffering through peaceful compromise, and to build a future based on trust and good-neighbor relations. From the Polish point of view, agreements with Germany not only enhanced its security against a historical threat, but signified an opportunity to finally achieve full sovereignty and national security within Western security structures. Solving the Polish-German problem represented a stepping stone in Poland’s bid to join NATO and the European Union (EU).

APPENDIX E - STABILITY OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BORDER

For Poland, the north-south axis contained far fewer puzzles and emotions than the east-west axis. The last invasion from the north occurred during the Swedish wars of 1700 – 1721, and the southern border, other than the Teschen incidents of January 1919 and September 1938, had been quiet for centuries. To assure continued peace along the north-south axis, Poland entered into three important treaties after the political changes of 1989; the Hexagonal Agreement, the Visegrad Group and the Baltic States Council.

Poland's nearest southern neighbors were the Czech Republic, Slovakia and, further south, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and the nation-states emerging from what used to be Yugoslavia. Polish relations with these countries were not aggravated either by history or by present tensions. A treaty on good-neighborly relations, solidarity and friendly cooperation was signed with Czechoslovakia on 6 October 1991 in Krakow, and both countries foresaw a possible customs union, including close cross-border ecological cooperation and large scale joint ventures. Poland watched with natural interest as Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, two equal states under international law. Polish interests were identical with these of its new southern neighbors, a strong economy and friendly neighbors. Unlike relations with its eastern neighbors, relations with the Czech Republic and Slovakia did not suffer from tensions caused by perceived minority displacement.

APPENDIX F - THE MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLAN³⁷

The Membership Action Plan (MAP) is a NATO program of advice, assistance and practical support tailored to the individual needs of countries wishing to join the Alliance. Participation in the MAP, however, does not prejudice any decision by the Alliance on future membership. The MAP was launched in April 1999 at the Alliance's Washington Summit to help countries aspiring to NATO membership in their preparations. The process drew heavily on the experience gained during the accession process of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, which had been joined NATO in the Alliance's first post-Cold War round of enlargement in 1999.

³⁷ Source: <http://www.nato.int>

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